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Interview with John O’Leary by Don Nicoll

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee

O’Leary, John

Interviewer

Nicoll, Don

Date

November 5, 2003

Place

Bangor, Maine

ID Number

MOH 418

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Biographical Note

John O’Leary was born on January 16, 1947 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He attended Chevrus High School in Portland, Maine, and then Yale, graduating in 1969. He studied as a Mellon Fellow at Cambridge University and received a master’s degree in 1971. O’Leary returned to Yale for law school, earning his J.D. in 1974 and joining the Pierce Atwood law firm in Portland. O’Leary became interested in politics in college and was a campaign volunteer, along with Peter Kyros, Jr., for Ed Muskie. A Democrat, O’Leary served on the Portland City Council from 1975 to 1982, and lost his bid for Congress in 1982. O’Leary also had a friendship with Bill Clinton, a classmate of his at Yale, and was appointed by Clinton as the U.S. Ambassador to Chile in 1998.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: family and educational background; David Flanagan; volunteering on Muskie’s campaign; importance of John F. Kennedy; meeting Bill Clinton at Yale; meeting Ed Muskie; 1968 Democratic convention; 1972 Muskie campaign; working for Pierce Atwood law firm; serving on the Portland, Maine City Council; running for Congress in 1982; working as Ambassador of Chile; last memory of Muskie; and Muskie’s picture at the White House.

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Transcript

Don Nicoll: It is Wednesday the 5th day of November, the year 2003. We are in the Charles Inn in Bangor, Maine. Don Nicoll is interviewing John O'Leary. John, would you state your full name and spell it, and give us your date and place of birth and the names of your parents.

John O'Leary: Good afternoon, Don. John Joseph O'Leary, Jr., January 16, 1947, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; John O'Leary and Margaret Joyce O'Leary.

DN: So you were born in Philadelphia?

JO: I was born in Philadelphia. My dad was from Philadelphia, my mother was from Portland; they met here in Portland during the war. After a very brief time in Philadelphia, to I think ultimately the great happiness of our whole family, my mother prevailed on my father to make it Portland, not Philadelphia.

DN: What did he do in Portland?

JO: My father managed supermarkets. He managed, in fact the first job I had at eighty-five cents an hour before he raised it to ninety cents an hour after a year, was bagging groceries in the Columbia Market at 334 Forest Avenue. And he managed that store, and then one in the Pine Tree Shopping Center on Brighton Avenue, and I remember putting Muskie bumper, "We Like Ed" I think is what the bumper sticker said, on as many cars as I could on Saturday afternoons in election time.

DN: That would have been the, what, '56, or?

JO: Fifty-eight, it was the first Senate race, yeah.

DN: And did your mother work outside the home?

JO: She didn't until my father died. She raised six of us, I was the first of six children. After my father died in 1972, she went to work first as a teacher's aide at the Emerson School, where she attended school, grammar school. And then she worked, our neighbor on Sunset Lane in Portland was Charlie Sharp, who was a wonderful person. And Charlie, I remember the occasion well because it was 1964, the Democratic convention was here in Bangor, I was here with a couple of fellow travelers in those days, David T. Flanagan and Peter N. Kyros, Jr., with a group of Young Democrats. And there were eleven Democrats in the house at the time and one of them for some reason either took ill or couldn't run and Charlie, who had just like finished eighteenth in the primary (*unintelligible word*) got on the ballot and ultimately became sheriff, and when he became sheriff he asked my mother to come to work for him. And my mother

worked for a number of years as the financial officer at the Cumberland County Sheriff's Department for Charlie and his successors.

DN: So you had a grounding in politics.

JO: I did.

DN: Now, was your dad active in politics, or simply a committed Democrat?

JO: Both of my parents were committed Democrats. They weren't active in the party, but I remember from a very young age understanding what they thought about politics. My earliest political memory, Don, is, and it's vague but it's there, it's 1952, I'm five years old and they're showing me pictures from the *Press Herald* of two people whose faces I had never seen. One was, I subsequently learned in the conversation, Eisenhower, and one was Stevenson. And I remember my parents saying to me, These are the two candidates for president of the United States, which one do you like? And I made the mistake of pointing to Eisenhower and my parents explained to me who Adlai Stevenson was and why I shouldn't make that mistake again.

DN: And then by 1958 you were putting bumper stickers out.

JO: I was, I was, I had, I mean I have, I'm trying to, I mean I think the, that memory is part of my earliest political memory. There's one that's close to it and slightly before '58, two memories from '56 when I was nine years old. And, one of them, it must have been the earlier of the two, thinking about the timing, was the, we had a television then and we hadn't had it very long, we still lived on Munjoy Hill, before we moved out to Sunset Lane in Deering, and it had to have been a black and white television. And I remember my parents asked me to come look at the television because something was going on that got them very excited, and it was the Democratic convention. And there was this guy named Kennedy, and there was a possibility he might be nominated to be vice president of the United States. And he was a Catholic, and this was this was the most extraordinary thing. And I remember, obviously it didn't happen, but I remember being, there was at least one overnight when the idea in our house that there might actually be a Catholic nominated for vice president of the United States (*unintelligible phrase*). And one other memory had to be '56.

DN: That would have been '56. You were nine years old.

JO: Right, and the other, right, and the other memory from '56 I have, and I remember, just to fast forward ahead a lot to the last time I ever saw Ed Muskie in Washington we talked about this. The first time I ever saw Muskie was that year, was aware of who he was. There was a rally in Monument Square and my father brought me to the rally, it was at night, and there were a lot of people in Monument Square for Ed Muskie who was the governor of the state of Maine, I think was running for reelection. So those are two of the very earliest political memories I have, but they're pretty consistent with the first one I have.

DN: And do you, you grew up, so, how old on Munjoy Hill?

JO: Let's see, we moved that year, '56, we moved out to Sunset Lane in what was new, then a new development called Warwick Heights, instead of Warwick Street, (*unintelligible word*) came up a hill and turned left and there were like eight new houses there, and we lived in one that started out as 10 Sunset Lane, then it got renamed - - don't ask me why - - it was 20 Sunset Lane, and Charlie Sharp lived at 10 Sunset Lane.

DN: And you went to Longfellow School or Lincoln?

JO: No, neither. We didn't go to public school in my family until my younger brothers and sisters. I went to the Cathedral grammar school until I was in the fourth grade. And actually the fourth grade was actually coming in from Sunset Lane to Congress, because we moved and I missed the start of the new year, so I started at St. Joseph's School on Stevens Avenue in the fifth grade.

DN: And so did you go right through high school to parochial school?

JO: Yes, I went from St. Joseph's in 196-, went to Chevrus in 1965.

DN: Did you meet David Flanagan at Chevrus?

JO: No, David and I, and he's a dear, dear friend, but we have had absolutely parallel tracks. I met David when he was at Deering High School and I was at Chevrus, and David went off to Harvard and I went off to Yale, and then after that I spent a couple years in Cambridge in England, and David went to the one in London. He studied at King's College, and we, then we went off to, he went back to Boston to go to law school at BC and I went back to Yale to go to law school. So we've met, and then we both ended up in Maine, so the same place where we started. But I met David when he was at Deering High School and I was at Chevrus.

DN: How did you happen to meet him?

JO: My memory is we met through high school debating, but it may have been we met through Democratic politics, I'm not sure which. In 1964, which would have been my junior year I guess, yeah, don't ask me how we did this, I don't quite remember how we did it, but David and Peter Kyros and I started something for teenage Democrats. There was interestingly back then, there was also an organization that had just started called Teenage Republicans. It was Lyndon Johnson's campaign year, Senator Muskie was running for reelection, and Ken Curtis had the nomination in the first district. And we organized high school kids to support the cause of the Democratic Party, and we organized it all over Maine.

In the days before the Internet it was just, there were a lot of phone calls involved in doing this, and a lot of mimeograph machines and all that sort of stuff. But we organized this in, oh gee, thirty, forty, fifty high schools around the state. Jim Tierney was at Brunswick High School, and there were others. And so, really, David and Peter and I were sort of a troika, I forget how we divided up responsibilities, but it worked very smoothly and was a lot of fun. And it was a very good election year. And Ken Curtis, to everybody's amazement including Ken's, almost got elected to the Congress of the United States that year I think. He got elected the following year.

DN: He lost the congressional race, but he became secretary of state.

JO: Secretary of state, that's what happened, that's what happened, that's right. But he came very close to winning, very close. And of course Johnson carried the state (*unintelligible phrase*) heavily reelected. It was a good year.

DN: That was also a training year for you three for the congressional race of '66.

JO: It was indeed, it was indeed. Peter's dad was the chairman of the party in '64. We spent a lot of time at their house which was right off to, around the corner of Capisic Street and, oh, what's the street?

DN: Steven's Avenue.

JO: Steven's Avenue, the (*unintelligible word*) that runs toward Westgate, and we spent a lot of time there that year, and then Peter decided to run for Congress in '66. So we all worked on that campaign and I remember kind of, that was my, let's see, I had just finished my first year in college and I took a fair amount of time off from the beginning of my second year to come back and continue the work we had done over the summer on the campaign. And of course Peter won the election.

DN: Did you, so you went on and finished at Yale, and did you go directly into law school?

JO: No, I didn't. I graduated in '69, I went over to Cambridge, I won a Mellon Fellowship at Yale, spent two years there, '69 to '71, came back in '71, spent the summer in Washington working on Senator Muskie's campaign, got back to Yale in the fall. I remember a message posted on the bulletin board to call back, Bob Shrum was the guy I spent a little bit of time (*unintelligible phrase*). Shrum in those days was a young speech writer, and he was a very good one, and a fascinating guy to spend some time with. And I remember getting back to New Haven and there was a guy named Clinton who was spending no time at all, he was a year ahead of me, no time at all either, I didn't meet him until a little bit later on, but he was off working for George McGovern. And of course that campaign kept right on going through '72 and Senator Muskie's unfortunately did not, but, so I was back at Yale from '71 to '74.

DN: I'd like to drop back to '66 and that campaign. Ken Curtis was running for governor, Elmer Violette was running for the U.S. Senate, and you three were running the Peter Kyros, Sr. campaign, and you had some involvement with some of Senator Muskie's staff members.

JO: We did, one of them's right here. George Mitchell was another one. George I think was the LA at the time and you were the Senator's AA, and Gayle Fitzgerald [Cory] and a whole, it was a wonder-, we. If I remember right the Dunfey's had recently come to town and they had bought the Eastland Hotel, and so we spent a lot, I, room service in a hotel was kind of a new thing for me then and the idea that you could get sandwiches, potato chips and ginger ale sent up to your room while you were working was kind of fun, but there was a lot of, that was sort of a central meeting point for the various campaigns as it went along, and they were pretty closely

coordinated. I mean the Democratic Party in those days, it really was quite a remarkable organization. David and I had things that are very much related to this but it's at a different point in time, much later.

When I was in Chile, David and Kaye came down to spend some time with us, as lots of friends from Maine did, and David was thinking about running for governor at the time. And I remember one of the most difficult conversations I ever had in my life was on a train coming back to Santiago after we had been away for a few days together. Difficult in part because the train ultimately broke and we had to get up in the middle of the night and take a bus back, but that's another story. But it was difficult because David was thinking about running for governor and wanted my help, and I told him if he ran as a Democrat there's nothing I wouldn't do for him, but if he didn't run as a Democrat, which was something he was entertaining, as much as it pained me I couldn't help. I think political parties matter, I think the United States is blessed with the political parties and a strong two-party system; it's part of what makes our country great. And I think back in Maine in the time that we're talking about, the fifties and sixties, the sense of the Democratic Party as an institution that made a difference in people's lives, I felt it; lots of us felt it, and it was real. Muskie was the center of that, of course, from '54 on; changed the state, changed the way people thought about the state, changed the way people thought about themselves.

So the idea today that the kinds of things that went on in the Eastland Hotel in '66 and the whole, the sense at least that I had that I think was real, that people may be running for different offices and Senator Muskie and his staff obviously was the center of the political universe in Maine for the Democratic Party. But that it was a, there was a great sense of a team effort and that's, campaigns have changed tremendously, television and computers and the, as David's ultimate decision reflects, parties have changed. But back then parties mattered in a way that's a little bit hard to appreciate forty years later.

DN: I'd like to go back to 1960. You mentioned earlier that your parents were quite excited in 1956 about the prospect of John Kennedy being nominated for vice president. They must have been ecstatic in 1960.

JO: Oh, it was amazing, it was an amazing, by then I'm thirteen, and for my parents and for that generation of Catholics in this country, this was the most remarkable thing. I remember, my most favorite memory of that campaign is, it had to have been November, my father and his friend Vincent Ciampi who lived right around the corner from us, got in the station wagon with my brothers-

DN: How do you spell his name?

JO: C-I-A-M-P-I. Senator Kennedy was doing a last weekend of campaign stops and was in Lewiston. We got in the car at probably six o'clock in the afternoon. He was supposed to speak at 7:30 or something like that, and I mean, we were just so excited. I had seen him when he had come to Portland during the campaign, he had spoken at Portland High School stadium and come to Congress Square, and I have clear memories of that, I mean that was great, but the Lewiston thing was extraordinary. We got in the car and we went up, and there was some sort of delay

and then the delay went on and the delay went on. It was probably eleven o'clock at night but to a kid it felt like four o'clock in the morning, we just waited. By the time he arrived in Lewiston, the park, he spoke in a little grandstand like at Fort Allen Park on the promenade; the place was packed, nobody left, more people came, and it was absolutely electric.

I'm reading right now a Kennedy biography by Robert Dallek which is pretty good. I would have thought you couldn't write any more about Kennedy, but with thirty or forty years access to more documents and the perspective of time, you can, it's a very good book. But what struck me in reading the part about the campaign is looking back, I mean what Dallek says, and it's a very thoughtful history but obviously what was more important about the 1960 campaign than anything was that a Catholic was elected president of the United States. When Joe Lieberman was nominated vice president last time I literally shed a tear, because I knew what that moment was about. And you know, I felt the same Geraldine Ferraro when she got on the ticket. When a woman gets elected president we'll all feel the same way as when a black person does. But it was that kind of thing. And for my parents, for their generation, it's hard for somebody of my generation to appreciate what that meant about what the United States was. And Muskie had done that in Maine.

DN: Did you get a sense of that kind of pride and sort of a self validation from the, your folks' reaction to Muskie's election?

JO: Oh yes, plainly. I mean, the sense that I had from them, when my father took me to Monument Square is again, in, you can read about it in the history books; I never felt it, I'm sure they did, what it was like to be a Catholic in Maine when they were younger, when my mother was younger, growing up here. She was born here, she was the first person in her family who was born in the United States. And certainly the history, you know, the generation before. Part of what made Muskie, the fact, you know, it's interesting, Don, I think the fact to me that's remarkable is that he was Polish and Catholic, and that even now is, you know, to me, extraordinary. But back then it was, I didn't know a Polish Catholic from an Irish Catholic from an Italian Catholic really. The fact that he was Catholic, sure, that's why it meant so much to my parents, that he was a Democrat and a Catholic. I think they would have been perfectly happy if he had been a Democrat, but that he was a Democrat and Catholic, it was just icing on the cake.

DN: Your mother grew up on Munjoy Hill, right?

JO: She did, she did.

DN: And what part of Philadelphia did your dad grow up in?

JO: He grew up in a part called Frankfurt, Philadelphia. He was the youngest of a large family, seven, eight, all sisters. And he entered the Navy right after high school, served in both the Pacific and the Atlantic, and to my great good fortune the U.S.S. Tuscaloosa came to Portland one day during the war.

DN: And he met your mother. How did they meet?

JO: They met at, my mother was working in Longfellow Square. There's a, the building, the place where they met is directly next door to where Joe's Smoke Shop now is. In those days it was a restaurant. They met, my mother was working there and my father walked in with some friends and that began a relationship that lasted until, they were both married in 1946 and lasted until my father died in 1972.

DN: And he, when he got out of the Navy, he went into the grocery business?

JO: Yes, yes.

DN: And worked his way up, I take it.

JO: That's right, that's right.

DN: Now, you mentioned a couple of people in connection with the 1966 campaign. Do you recall any of the working interactions with Gayle Fitzgerald and -?

JO: Gayle was the, she was the face of the senator's office, everything, I mean she sort of made everything happen, work. I mean if you wanted something done you would have to talk to Gayle. I remember George, a very young George Mitchell who would sit down, and again it goes back to the Eastland Hotel and talk about campaign issues and legislative issues. I remember a guy named Nicoll who was to my view, I mean, you were talking to Senator Muskie if you were talking to Don Nicoll, if you were lucky enough to do that. And I remember it as, here's a bunch of high school kids who were; whatever we were doing we were welcomed as part of this. And as I think back on that now it was really quite remarkable. It seemed to be then, and I think it is, of how much you felt you were part of the team with all of those folks. Great people.

DN: Now, after you went to Yale to law school, after your time at Cambridge, I was interested in one little link there. Bill Clinton was at Yale at the time, and so your paths crossed, as did another Portlander's in England, Tom Allen.

JO: The, this only makes sense now; when I was in college I first met, I met Bush before I met Clinton, Bush was, I was in the class of 1969, George Bush was in the class of 1968. We sort of traveled in different circles at Yale, and Bush was not particularly interested in the kinds of things I was interested in he was, but he was a nice guy, he was well liked, but he wasn't, he certainly wasn't interested in politics and all of that, which I very much was. I was involved in the political union, and he was, played baseball and stuff like that. But anyhow, we did have occasion to meet in senior year, got to know each other, my senior, I was going into senior year and he was leaving, so I got to know him a little, and certainly I think if, Yale was all men in those days, as you have polled that whole class, I'm sure, and he would have been one who agreed with it, if you say, the question is who is the least likely person in this class to become president of the United States he probably would have won it hands down.

I say that because when I first met Clinton when I came back, it was through a common friend from Arkansas whose name is Dick Atkinson, and Dick one day said to me, "There's somebody

in the law school I think you'd like to meet and I'd like to introduce you to him, have lunch.” Dick was a counselor in Timothy Dwight College, which was one of the colleges at Yale College. So we had lunch at TD, the three of us. And in contrast to what I just said about President Bush, I remember we had about a two hour lunch, and I remember walking away from that lunch saying to myself, and if you talk to people who met Clinton back then there is a chorus and it's consistent, you walk away and think, “Wow, this guy could be president of the United States.” Has that combination of just raw intellect, political sensitivity, just a wonderful person. And that's how I first met Clinton.

DN: After Yale you came home.

JO: Oh, and then (*unintelligible word*), let me mention something I think that's important, one of these fast forward things. I was sitting in my office at Pierce Atwood, which is where I came home to practice law. Great firm in Portland, wonderful people. Tom's father Charlie was the senior partner in the firm when I came back, one of the most wonderful people I've ever met in my life. And I was sitting there one day, and this has got to be '91, and the phone rings, it's like six, it's six thirty at the office. I have no idea what I was working on, but I was at my desk and the phone rings and it was Bill Clinton. And he said, “I'm going to run for president, will you help me?” And I said, “Of course.” And the first thing we did, Tom had been with the president at Oxford, I did not know them, the times didn't quite overlap and I think Tom had been a class ahead of the president, and he had called Tom and he asked Tom if he would help him. This was in October or November in 1991, and even, and not so long ago but people forget, people forget that we were, you know, where we are in this political cycle right now then and I think the issue in the Democratic Party wasn't who ought to be the nominee, the issue was should we contest this election. It was an incumbent president who had been up in the eighties or nineties, he was probably at this time still in the seventies, after Iraq.

And Clinton decided he was going to run, and the first thing he wanted to do, and he asked Tom and me to put together was would we help organize a lunch at the Holiday Inn and would we invite some, help him invite, find people who would come meet the governor of Arkansas. And I remember saying to Patricia Cepeda, to my wife that I'd just had this call, this was an old friend from law school. He and I had not stayed in touch over the years; he had called pretty much out of the blue because he was putting together a national campaign. I said, I have this friend who's the governor of Arkansas and he's going to run for president, and Patricia just threw up her hands and says, “How much is this going to cost us? What a waste of time and money, I'm not going.” I had supported so many losing candidates of one kind or another over the years and I had a pretty good track record of picking the wrong candidate. And so, but anyhow, Tom and I worked with a number of people and we got several hundred people to come to lunch at the Holiday Inn, and Clinton stood up and he said, you know, “There are only two people in this room and two people in this state who know who I am, I want to thank them for helping put this together.” And he introduced himself and made a wonderful speech.

And I remember two things about that: I remember first talking to Jadine O'Brien who was one of the folks who was just good enough to give up her lunch hour to come hear the governor of Arkansas, and she got all excited about the campaign, she said, this is great, this guy (*unintelligible phrase*) candidate. And that was the whole sense around the room. There was

somebody, and I'm trying to remember who it was and I'm blanking on the name, it'll come to me, but he said, I want to pay for this lunch, he said, "I want to pay for this lunch, this is our candidate." And I actually, I took him, I said, "Okay, you're coming up to meet the governor." And we went upstairs and sure enough, he wrote out a check for whatever you could give at the time, a thousand bucks, whatever the maximum was, and said, I hope that helps. I said, "It helps, you know, we, this wasn't a fund raiser." So it was that kind of, and I have a wonderful picture, actually it came from the *Press Herald* files, of Tom and Gov. Clinton and I walking into the Holiday Inn in November or so of 1991.

DN: When did you first meet Ed Muskie?

JO: The first time I, I told you when I first saw him and became aware of who he was and all of that. My first memory of meeting the senator and spending any time with him was when I was at Chevrus High School and there was something, I doubt it still exists, I mean it seems so retro in a way, there was something called the political science academy at Chevrus, and I was president of that so I got to invite the speakers. Now, this has to be, it has to be '64 because he was a candidate and I invited him to come speak and he accepted. I was thrilled. Cliff McIntire also accepted; I was less thrilled. That was the luck of the job you had. And, you know, fifteen people showed up for McIntire in a little room and it was an entirely forgettable experience. Senator Muskie came and he filled up the auditorium. It's still the same at Chevrus, the auditorium is a basketball court but it doubles as an auditorium; filled it up. The faculty, those were the days when there were Jesuits on the faculty of the Jesuit high school, and they were delighted he was there. Senator Muskie by then had become a national figure, so it wasn't just a question of your pride in Maine, but this was somebody that we all had great pride in because of what he stood in the country. And I remember many years later I was doing a matter for the Jesuits when I was a lawyer, and was visiting the Jesuit administrative office in Boston, and Father James Powers, who was my history teacher and who was the faculty advisor for the political science academy happened to be there and we had a very nice conversation. And he pulled out a picture that he had saved all those years of the day Senator Muskie came to Chevrus High School, and it's a picture of the three of us, and it was a delight to see.

DN: And in '66 when you were doing the Kyros campaign, did you get to see the senator very much or interact with him directly?

JO: A little, a little. I remember the longest time I had with him was, there was a drive down to Logan airport that somehow or other Peter Jr. and I got to be in the car. It can't be that Peter, Sr. was driving into Logan, but there was some sort of problem at the Portland airport and the senator couldn't get out, so I remember driving down and the conversation about politics there was the longest that I had ever had. The other picture I remember of that campaign was Senator Muskie and Peter, was this '64 or '66? No, it was '64, when I think Peter Kyros, Sr.'s life almost for all prac-. Peter was not a humble person, but I've never seen him, he and I have lost touch, but I had never seen him in the slightest crestfallen. But I remember, there was some crazy, there was a ship that was in Portland harbor that was taking Lyndon Johnson and supposedly everybody who was anybody, which obviously didn't include Peter Jr. or me, but it should have included, I think Peter was the chairman of the Democratic Party at the time. And I don't remember how it happened but it was, Peter missed the boat. Quite literally, he missed the boat

and there was a picture, I think in the *Press Herald Sunday Telegram* the next day of this forlorn looking state party chair, either watching the boat head out to Casco Bay or back. But Senator Muskie didn't miss the boat.

DN: Yes indeed. Now, through, you were in college the next few years until '69.

JO: Yes.

DN: Did you get involved at all in the '68 campaign?

JO: Sixty-eight was an extraordinary time to be on a college campus in the United States, with the Vietnam War and the campaign. I remember coming back to Yale from spring break or Christmas break, was coming back to Yale from Maine around the time that Lyndon Johnson stunned everybody by dropping out of the race. That year, the '67-'68 year I was serving as president of the Yale Political Union, which is the major political organization on campus, and we got, Senator Muskie was good enough to accept my invitation to come speak to the Yale Political Union and he did a wonderful job. But I remember conversations over the course of the year about the war and the campaign and all of that. I remember a long conversation with Bill Moyers after he spoke about the idea, at William Sloan Coffin's house, about the idea that somebody ought to take on Johnson, that we couldn't let the country go where it was going. And this, I mean, you have in mind all we've talked about about the Democratic Party and what the Democratic Party meant to me, and the idea that three years after the landslide of 1964, that this would be the topic of conversation.

And I, one of my close, close friends from college was, that stayed closely in touch, Reid Hunt who was my roommate for a couple of years, a close friend, who was President Clinton's first chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Very close; he went to high school with Al Gore and they were very close. But Reid and I to this day, when we talk about the current campaign we talk about it in 1968 terms, analogies. And both of us were obviously very excited when Gene McCarthy decided he'd make the challenge to LBJ. And then the schism in the Democratic Party was reflected in our friendship - - when Bobby Kennedy got into the race, I supported Kennedy, I thought he had a better chance to win the race. Some of the longest arguments I ever had with Reid were about that decision because he stayed with McCarthy.

I remember being in Washington in June on the night of the California primary, I was staying with Peter, Jr. and I were staying at Congressman Farris' house. We had all watched the returns, Alice was there, Peter, Peter, Jr.; the congressman's AA was Alice (*name*), but I haven't thought of it in a long time, and we had just gone to bed and it was, for me it was a wonderful, wonderful evening, it was great. And I remember Peter Sr. the congressman, there was a knocking on the door, saying John, get up, Senator Kennedy's been shot. And that was a terrible time for the country, that whole year obviously. But then I remember in '68 going out to Chicago for the convention. Many years later I brought my older daughter Alejandra back to Chicago for the convention, in '96. Very different from '68, and I tried to explain to her some of the differences but (*unintelligible word*), we went out together in the Maine delegation (*unintelligible phrase*), and with my very august rank of advisor of some sort or other to Peter Kyros the congressman, I had convention passes, credentials, for two of the four nights of the convention. I still have the

McCarthy sign I brought home from that convention. And that's where I was in the Humphrey - McCarthy thing that was for all practical purposes decided before then.

I have lots of memories of that convention, but the one that comes to mind now is, they had what they thought was a very sophisticated system then for getting into the convention hall which was that they had this little, I'd never seen anything like it, it was this little card, plastic card and you put it in and if your credentials were good the light was supposed to go green and you could walk in, and if they weren't (*unintelligible phrase*) then you couldn't. And this was sort of new technology and it didn't work particularly well. I remember a couple of nights, maybe the Monday and Tuesday or whatever it was, that I had valid credentials, a couple of times I had to, it didn't work. And the most amazing thing for those of us in Maine happened on maybe the third night at the convention - - Hubert Humphrey was getting the nomination, picked Ed Muskie to be his running mate, and you can imagine, I'm telling you, you (*unintelligible phrase*), what that was like for all of us. And so I had to, I didn't have credentials for the night that Senator Muskie was going to be giving his acceptance speech, and that presented a challenge. But I tried, all the clout that a college kid had to try to get credentials from all my friends in the Maine delegation, and I had a few, but it couldn't be done for obvious reasons.

So I was left with trying to hope that the technology would fail the other way around and I took my credentials, and there was a lot of security in the convention hall, I mean it was difficult days in Chicago. But I remember walking up with all the police and so forth guarding it trying to put my credentials in, hoping, knowing that they'd be right credentials but hoping the machine might screw up and turn green. Tried about three times and it was red every time, and one of the, this was the day after Senator Ribicoff and Mayor Daley had had their little colloquy on the floor of the convention, that national TV (*unintelligible phrase*). And so it was that night, Mayor Daley's forces were striking back to Senator Ribicoff and all of that, and just as I was about to despair, when a cop said, "Kid, you come back here one more time with those credentials, and you're under arrest." And I said, "Senator Muskie's going to be nominated vice president, I'm going in there." And sure enough, there were some of Chicago's very best (*unintelligible word*) who had hundreds and hundreds of these most ugly pink and black signs, I have one of them somewhere, that said "We love Mayor Daley" was the message, and they were, I watched, some of the, all the security just, the seas parted and then I walked over and said to them, Give me some of those signs. And I got about fifty signs and I got in the parade and I ended up sitting in, getting through with the signs, putting the signs down and sitting in an aisle and watching Ed Muskie give his acceptance speech. That was 1968.

DN: All because of the love of Mayor Daley.

JO: All because of the love of Mayor Daley.

DN: Your next political foray I guess was 1971.

JO: I did, that was it, I came back from Cambridge. A fellow named Nicoll was good enough to let me spend a little bit of time on the campaign in Washington. I think the office was on K Street. There were a bunch of us trying to help the senator's presidential campaign in every way we could. I ended up giving words to Bob Shrum and about one of every ten he'd say, "Kid

that's not (*unintelligible word*).” Shrum was a character, and he was a gifted writer. He took great pride in what he wrote, and it wasn't easy to get a word in edgewise, you know, I mean, (*unintelligible phrase*), I thought I'd written some pretty good stuff. But they were long hours and sandwiches and cokes. I remember the first time I ever knew who Tony Lake was. Lake had left, let's see, was it Lake was reviewing, he left the Republican Party, or left the -

DN: He left the White House.

JO: He left the White House, that's right. And something that we were writing about the war we ran by Lake and he, and again, maybe ten percent of this was my contribution, ninety percent was Shrum, orders of magnitude, but I remember he said, “That's pretty good.” I thought, well -

End of Side A
Side B

DN: We are on the second side of the November 5 interview with John O'Leary, Don Nicoll interviewing. We are at the Charles Inn in Bangor, Maine. You were just talking about the '71 campaign and your speech writing experience.

JO: And so I went back to, that's what I was doing over the summer. I remember going back, my first year at Yale law school was that September, and so I went back in September and watched the campaign from law school. And I was, that was all a great disappointment of how that all evolved. I often look back at them and think, now Senator Muskie obviously was a hero to me, and he would have been a great president. I think it's one of those situations that we were talking about before, somehow it just didn't all come together. The New Hampshire event, which I guess is the one image that stays. It was such a disappointment that it played out as it did, but it did. And they didn't, I obviously supported Senator McGovern, I believed strongly in his opposition to the war, I was deeply, deeply opposed to it. But it wasn't the same as working for Ed Muskie running for president of the United States so I was pretty much busy being a law student.

DN: So you finished law school and then came back to Maine.

JO: I did, '74.

DN: Did you go directly to Pierce Atwood?

JO: I did, I did, I remember, I spent the summer after my second year in New York at a law firm as an intern, liked it very much, and I was very torn about whether to go back to the firm in New York or to come home to Maine. I remember coming up that fall, this would be the fall of '73, and visiting Pierce Atwood, and it was a very good visit but it wasn't New York. And sometimes things happen in life that are utter luck, and there's no other explanation for it that makes any sense to me anyway. There may be other explanations, but luck it is. I was really torn by that decision, and this is, when it came the day where you had to say bus fare that way or bus fare that way, I remember picking up the phone in my room at Yale law school and making the decision, I'm going to New York. I'll go back to Maine some day, but I'm going to New

York. I picked up the phone and called the managing partner at the, the partner in charge of recruiting law students in New York to say yes, and the line was busy. Or he was out to lunch; it was one or the other. I put down the phone and I picked it up and I called Fred Scribner and said, "I'm coming back to Portland." And that's how I came back to Portland.

DN: And by then Fred was not averse to hiring a Democrat.

JO: Maine had changed. Charlie Allen, the firm then was called Pierce Atwood Scribner Allen, and McKusick. For a long time Charlie was the only Democrat there. The firm had grown; when I came back in '74 they were hiring three lawyers and we were like the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth lawyers at the largest law firm in Maine. I came back in large measure because I was interested in politics and then didn't, you know, the competing issues in my mind were going off to a New York law firm for a few years and then coming back to Maine, or coming straight back to Maine. I told you how that turned out. But Pierce Atwood by then having grown to that size, there were probably a couple of other, whether you were a Democrat or a Republican didn't matter in the firm. They wanted good lawyers. And the firm, by the time I left many years later, twenty-four years later, there were about a hundred lawyers and there were a whole lot more Democrats. But Charlie, Charlie was just a wonderful, wonderful person, and just somebody who made a great contribution to Maine and the Portland community and to the law firm, and who was always very kind to me as he was to almost anybody who had a Democrat after his name or was running for office.

DN: I suppose it should be noted for the historical record that one of the two original partners in that firm was a Democrat. Not noted for that, but he was, Leonard Pierce.

JO: That's correct, that's correct. Charlie was the one, though, who wore those sympathies on his sleeve.

DN: Yes, and was more a moderate Democrat than Leonard.

JO: Yes. Leonard came from Aroostook County and came to Portland. Charlie, I just, I had a call the other day from, let's see, who would this be, this is Neil's son, Neil Allen's son, who wrote me, and his name is James, he's at BU, he's a grad student, he wanted to come down and meet some people in Washington so I made some introductions for him. And he said "Thanks." And I said, "Please, don't." Charlie Allen, and when I first ran for the city, I ran for the city council in 1975, the year after I got back, and the firm was great about that. But I remember the day that I decided to do that, Charlie and I had gone up to the Eastland Hotel at lunch, there was this guy named Jimmy Carter who was speaking, it's '75, at the Eastland Hotel. And as I said, it was the damndest thing, I mean, he had a very strong southern accent and he, and this, it was sort of how Patricia felt when I told her about Clinton, and so I, you know, Charlie said, "Come on up and hear this guy talk," and we did. And we were walking back and I said, "Charlie, I think I'm going to run for the Portland city council." Charlie had been a distinguished member of the council, he'd been chairman of the council, he was a great community leader. And I was running against an incumbent.

DN: Who was your opponent?

JO: His name was Francis Connelly, a very nice guy. And I was twenty-eight years old, and I had decided I wanted to do something positive but I didn't want to leave, I mean I didn't want to go off and get involved in any other races right then, and I told Charlie about that and he was, as he was every time I decided to do anything in politics, I mean this isn't, there are lots of people in the state who could tell precisely the same story, Charlie (*unintelligible phrase*) and was very helpful all along. And so a year after I was back, I was on the board of the city council.

DN: And how many years did you serve on the city council?

JO: I served two terms. They changed the date of the election in my second term so that the down side of that was it added six months to your term, so I served six and a half years on the Portland city council, from '75 to '81, '82.

DN: And you decided to run for Congress.

JO: I did, I did. In '82, well, back ever so slightly. In 1980 David and Kaye Flanagan and Patricia Cepeda and I went on a vacation together to Greece. David at the time was the governor's counsel, Gov. Brennan's counsel. I remember the day we were, the day before we were leaving I had a call from a friend in Washington, a law firm, at Arnold and Porter, and he called me and said, "John, have you heard a rumor about Ed Muskie becoming secretary of state?" Cyrus Vance had just left office. And I said to my friend, "No, I haven't." And I called Flanagan; "David, have you heard anything about this?" And David, you know, I said, this, you know, he's a good friend, he didn't have enough particularly reliable sources, but there's a rumor around Washington that Ed Muskie's about to become secretary, be nominated by President Carter as secretary of state. We got on the plane, David had heard none of it and I figured, oh well, Washington's full of rumors like that, he'd be a great secretary of state. We flew off to Athens.

I remember we went to, as soon as we got to Athens we went from the airport to downtown to our hotel, (*name*) I think is the name of the square. And there are lots of little news kiosks, all the morning papers in Athens, a word of which David and I couldn't read between us, but there was Ed Muskie's picture on the front page of one of the Athens morning newspapers. I said, "David, you better call home." And David spent the first day or so on our vacation on the phone with Gov. Brennan. And the long and short of it was, shortly thereafter George Mitchell was named by the governor to take the seat that was vacated by Senator Muskie who was becoming secretary of state.

So in '82 David Emery, who was the seemingly invincible member of the Republican Party who had had the congressional seat since he defeated Peter Kyros, decided he was going to take the seat from George and that opened up the first district seat, and so I decided I would run for Congress. I left the firm to do that in around January 1st, the primary was in June, and I spent almost six months doing that. I spent a lot of time at bean suppers with George, and John Kerry and Phil Merrill, and two great names, one great American, Plato Truman. And George was maybe 80/20 more or less, 70/30, I think, down in the polls at the time. Just before he had gone, just before I went to Greece, George was at the U.S. Attorneys Office, he was the U.S. attorney,

and he and I had done a medical malpractice deposition together in Boston that George just sat in on because he wanted to learn how a deposition went, and I was involved in it for one of the parties. I remember we drove back and forth together, had long talks about things. But anyhow, George was in the Senate and I just remember just watching him in the course of that campaign just getting better and better and better, and he told some of the same stories. But his delivery just, I mean the stories, he does the same old story but he told it better every time and obviously went on to win the election. I didn't get by the primary. It was a fascinating race; it was a lot of fun.

I remember being at the Eastland Hotel that night as the vote came in, it was a very close race with Kerry, and the early vote came in very well indeed, in fact, but it was close. But I remember George came by sort of to congratulate me around ten or eleven o'clock, something like that, and it was a little, in my judgment, a little early. I appreciated the gesture very much, but it wasn't time, and it went into the evening and I remember about two o'clock in the morning UPI called the race, called it for me, and around five o'clock in the morning AP called it for Kerry and AP got it right. And so that was that campaign.

DN: That was the, was it the York County vote that did you in?

JO: It was, it was. We carried almost every other county and city. York hurt bad, you know, it was sort of a Bulgarian kind of vote in York County, it was in the eighties to fifteen or something like that I think, in Biddeford particularly. It was interesting; it was hard to explain to friends from, away from Maine. Maine was ahead of the curve on this and we're still, obviously this issue has become, has lingered and become more of a national issue. But in the '82 primary, abortion was an important issue in the Democratic primary, and I was pro choice and John was pro life, in the simple labels that got attached to a very complicated issue, and that probably helped John. John was also from Old Orchard and he had some good help down there, and he did real well in Biddeford. It was a position that ultimately hurt him and cost him the election I think to Jock McKernan in the fall. But it was a very sensitive issue. I think where the election was really lost in retrospect was Sanford where we had a shot and got a few votes less when they were all counted than we needed. It was very close; I forget what the margin was, but it was very, very close. But absolutely, York County is where John won it.

DN: And you decided after that not to go the election route again?

JO: Hal Pachios once said to me, Hal had run for the seat in '80, Hal was a lawyer at, from across the street, Preti Flaherty. I got to know Hal with the usual cast of characters in prior Democratic campaigns, a wonderful person. He once said to me, you know, we were talking about that run, and I had this conversation with Tom Allen when I was trying to get him to run for something and not succeeding, but Hal talked to me and he said, "Look, you've really got to do this when you're young because what's going to happen is you'll be over there and you'll start making lots of money, you'll have a pretty good life and each year you'll find some excuse, and your wife won't like it. You've got to go out there and run." But when, and I'd run a couple campaigns, enjoyed them a lot, but I think one of the tests is, of how much politics is in your blood, and I've got a pretty good case of it, but it's when you lose your first election, if you wake up the next morning and say, "When's the next election?" you've got a real case of the political

bug. If you wake up and say, that was fun, now on with the rest of my life, you don't. And I woke up and I felt the latter.

I remember George giving me a call, oh, somewhere before, it must have been '83, in the fall of '83, his office was down in the post office on Forest Avenue. And he said (*unintelligible phrase*), "Will you come down, sit down and talk;" I said, "Of course." And George said, you know, you really ought to run for Congress in '84, you know, you'll be a great candidate, I want to help you out, and all of that. And that's when it really crystallized that I had to make a decision and I called him back after thinking about it and said, "No, I don't think so, thanks." And that's really where it was clear to me that whatever I do in politics would be done in a different way, and that really, I had no idea at the time what that different way would be until after, I co-chaired with Tom the Clinton campaigns in '92 and '96 in Maine, and was happy to help out in that way. The president did very, very well in Maine, it was one of his two or three best states anywhere. As did Al Gore. But from '82 forward, I really thought the rest of my life would be supporting candidates in Maine and working in political causes, and practicing law, I enjoyed it. Until I had a call in '96, in the middle of the campaign, it must have been August. And it was a call first from the Justice Department and then from the White House and the gist, they were pretty much back to back, and the gist of it was, "John, there's an opening coming up in the First Circuit Court of Appeals. Would you be interested in having that seat?" And they, literally, it was like the call from Clinton saying he's running for president, sitting at my office and the call came in to my office out of the blue. And I remember thinking about that, talking a little bit with Patricia about it, and my first instinct (*unintelligible phrase*), and this is Frank Coffin's seat once removed. But Frank Coffin was another great hero of mine from the 1950s and the Democratic Party, and just a giant and a wonderful, wonderful judge. And because it was his seat, not that a call like this on going on the Federal Court of Appeals, or being nominated wouldn't be an honor in itself, but that was a special honor.

And I said to my friends who were calling, look, let's get the president reelected, let me think about this. I'm honored that anybody would think that I might (*unintelligible word*). And after the president was reelected I called back and I said, "I've thought about it, and if I ever were a judge, this is the seat I'd like to have but you know what, at least at this point in my life I don't want to put on robes and get out of politics and all that and what I'm doing, and thanks but no thanks." But, if there's ever any way I can be helpful, you know, you got me thinking. If there's ever anything I can do to be helpful in Latin America, you know how to reach me. And not too long afterwards came the opportunity to go to Chile.

DN: Now, had you developed an interest in foreign policy before that?

JO: Yeah, it's, when I was a freshman at Yale in 1965 I was, I went to Yale from Chevrus thinking, you know, you can study political science, you can study politics, they'll give you a degree for that? How can this be? And I went intending to study political science, and so there was a program at Yale called early concentration political science where, and in several other subjects, where a small number of freshmen could do a double credit course in an area and there were seven of us doing political science. I rapidly learned I liked politics, but I hated political science, and I became a history major. But in that first year, you know, we did political theory, we did U.S. government, we did comparative politics, we did international relations, all that sort

of stuff. And I remember we had one semester, it turns out it was my first semester, where you could pick any country in the world and any, quote, “politicians/political actors”, to study for a semester and I picked Chile, I picked Eduardo (*name*). Because in the middle of the Cold War, Chile had a very pivotal and fascinating role and it was of great interest to me. And so I had always had that interest, but certainly I had never given a moment's thought, not one, to serving in the Foreign Service, let alone being an ambassador, until this chain of events started with the call about the court.

DN: Now, you did have in addition to that early study of Chile, you had a Latin American connection by then.

JO: By then I did. The, when I went back to Yale law school, a friend of mine from Alabama introduced me to a young woman from Colombia named Patricia Cepeda, who was coming to Yale College. And I, in political terms I've always said this is one I owe to George Wallace because Patricia came one year, she spent two years in prep school here before coming to Yale, but she spent her sophomore year in an exchange program between high schools, her high school in Colombia and here. She went to somebody's home in Alabama where she was going to be staying for the semester, and when her father called to say how it's all going, Patricia described it and said, there's this big picture of George Wallace in the living room, and Patricia's father said, “Fine, we're getting you out of there tomorrow.” And she then became, she was with Joe Lang who made the introduction many years later. But Patricia introduced me to Latin America and the literary world of Latin America, Gabriel Garcia Marquez was her father figure, her father's closest friend in life, and so when Patricia and I were married in '77, shortly after I came back to Portland, we would spend every winter in Colombia, or in Latin America, and then when our kids were born we took them down there all the time. So Latin America had a very personal as well as a political interest, foreign policy interest and general interest, and then by the time I got to Chile, Patricia's, Patricia hadn't lived in Latin America since she left for school in the United States and she was a great, great representative for the United States in Chile.

DN: That would be a whole other subject for us to pursue. Did you in the later years have opportunities to discuss foreign policy with Senator Muskie, Secretary Muskie?

JO: Yes. Let me tell you one that stands out most vividly, and it was the last time I saw Senator Muskie. In 19-, I want to say '95 or so, I may be slightly off on the year. A friend of mine in Portland who had worked for a long time with Shin Fain in Ireland, her name is Shannon. We were at a Christmas reception at her house in Portland and she said to me, “I think something very important's happening with the peace process in Northern Ireland, I think there are conversations happening between Jerry Adams,” whom she's very close to, “and others about trying to move this process forward.” She mentioned particularly John Hume, and she said, “I'd like you to come over and meet Adams and hear about what's going on.”

I was always generally interested for obvious reasons in Irish politics and all of that, but hadn't been particularly close to it, and Shannon had. And I said, “Look, I'll go because you've asked me to go and this is important and what you've said is important, but I'll go if I can meet John Hume, too.” Hume came from a different side of the nationalist Catholic politics, and the fact that the two of them were talking was a very significant development. And I remember going

over and I met with Adams, who impressed me enormously, met with Hume who's a very, very impressive person, and I remember putting in a word to President Clinton, as to others, that probably the single most important thing that we could do, we the United States could do, to advance this really important change toward peace in Northern Ireland was to give Adams, who had been demonized by his opposition, a visa to come to the United States and tell his side of the story, you know, he came to Portland and so forth. The president made a very courageous decision in my view and one that I think made all the difference in the world for this. I remember telling, we had a dinner together in Martha's Vineyard just as this was happening and it really did make the difference that he gave that visa.

But anyhow, the fact is when Adams came, I think on his first trip, the issue was who should he see. And I said, "There's somebody I would like you to see, it's Ed Muskie. Would you, if I can, if Senator Muskie will take time to see you, will you see him?" And Adams was delighted at the idea and Muskie said he'd see him. And so we went by his law offices, they were then on Vermont Avenue in Washington, and I remember, with the three of us, I just sat back and listened to a fascinating conversation in which Adams explained to Muskie what he was trying to do, and Muskie gave him just, and it was in that conversation where Muskie said to, he started to, he got back to, I mean, he said, "John, how long have, when did we first meet?" And I told him the story from '56 and all of that.

But he gave Adams the wisest counsel, I mean first he would, they talked a long time about Ireland and Poland, Muskie said he'd never been to Ireland, he told Adams that he was Polish, and he sort of intuited from what it meant to be Polish and understanding Russia, what it must be like to be Irish and trying to think about England and all of that. He sort of knew where Adams was coming from. And this was a time when Adams was still very, not that he isn't controversial now, but he certainly isn't thought of as the way he was mistakenly thought of a while ago. But he, what the senator said to him was what he was doing was important, that he encouraged him in the efforts that he was making, but he said, you know, "The things (*unintelligible phrase*), but take the long term view of this, this is not something that is going to be set right tomorrow or next week or next year, and keep that kind of perspective in mind as he went forward." It was that kind of conversation for about an hour between the two of them. It was just a fascinating conversation to overhear, and it made a difference I think in how Adams understood what he was trying to do.

DN: Did you ever have a chance to talk to him about your own experiences in Chile?

JO: No, no, he, let's see, I went to Chile in July of '98, but he had died. I remember going to the memorial service at Bates; that was a wonderful, wonderful occasion and full of great memories. I obviously knew of Ed Muskie's, what Bates was to him and what he was to Bates, but I had never quite seen that all come together as it did that day. I'll tell you a story, and actually I brought something that, and there's one other, something I'll send you, from Chile, there's an Art in the Embassy program that allows ambassadors to bring art for the American ambassador's residence, and really through Patricia's good work we brought a wonderful collection of Maine art and the essay that I wrote in that refers to Senator Muskie, what he meant to me and who he was and secretary of state.

But the Muskie story from those days that stands in my mind is, when ambassadors go out to post, whether you're like me a non-career ambassador going out for the first time or whether you're a career ambassador going out for the sixth time or whatever, you go through a very intensive couple of weeks called the Ambassadorial Seminar at the State Department, you spend time working together and thinking together about things. One of the things that happens in that is you spend a little bit of time at the end of it visiting with the Secretary and some ceremonies and so forth in her office. And I remember at the end of that seminar as I was going up there, there were about eight or nine of us, going up to the Secretary's office, and the eighth floor of the building, the State Department, outside the Secretary's office, are all these, the pictures of all the secretaries of state, that's what line the wall going in, and it's sort of a grand series of rooms and ultimately you get to the Secretaries, inner office. But this whole thing occurs outside and the ceremony is, the outgoing ambassador has his or her picture taken with the secretary of state in front of Thomas Jefferson, our first secretary of state. And there's (*unintelligible word*), let's go through this, you have some little chit chat with the Secretary, do the picture and blah-blah-blah. And when it came my turn I said to Madeleine Albright, I said, "Madame Secretary," you know, a little chit chat and so forth, and I said, you know, "I've looked at the wonderful collection of Secretaries - - where's Muskie?" - - because I didn't see the Secretary's picture up there. And she said, "John," and she took me aside (*unintelligible phrase*), she said, we did our picture with Jefferson, and she said, "Come on into my office." And so we walked inside the inner sanctum of the Secretary's office and all this elaborate series of rooms (*unintelligible phrase*) for the State Department. She pointed up at the wall right opposite her desk and she said, "There he is. I wanted to see him every single day." So we did our, we redid our picture, and the one that sat on my desk at the ambassador's office in Washington was the one with Secretary Muskie.

DN: "To John O'Leary, best wishes in the best tradition of our great friend, Ed Muskie. Madeleine Albright." Wonderful. Thank you very much, John.

JO: A pleasure.

End of Interview